Joe Stubs His Toe—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

October 6, 1951

From Franco's Border

The Paradox of American Intervention

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*

How to Buy a College

General Moseley's Instalment Plan

BY H. E. BOWEN

*

Morse to McCormick - - - - *Willard Shelton*

Press Gag for India? - - - - - - - - *Jean Lyon*

The Oatis Trial - - - - - - *James Lawrence Fly*

Mr. X's "American Diplomacy" - *H. Stuart Hughes*

) CENTS A COPY : EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 : 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ECONOMICAL MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine $9.50

You save $2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports $10.75

You save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12

☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for ____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

10/6/51

NEXT WEEK IN "THE NATION"

FALL BOOK ISSUE

THOREAU AND SHAW: A DIALOGUE
By Joseph Wood Krutch

THE ART OF HENRY GREEN
By Harold Lazarus

NOTES BY THE WAY
By Margaret Marshall

THE FORRESTAL DIARIES
Reviewed by Willard Shelton

THE MEMOIRS OF ERNST VON WEIZSÄCKER
Reviewed by H. Stuart Hughes

THE HOLY SINNER
by Thomas Mann
Reviewed by Leslie Fiedler

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY
by Margaret Mead
Reviewed by Barrington Moore, Jr.

SAMUEL BUTLER'S NOTEBOOKS
Reviewed by Ernest Jones

WHITE COLLAR
by C. Wright Mills
Reviewed by Irving Howe

HOUSE OF LIARS
by Elsa Morante
Reviewed by Frances Keene

Verse Chronicle by Rolfe Humphries
Music by B. H. Haggin
Art by Manny Farber

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 6, 1951 NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

IT IS AN UNCOMFORTABLE FACT, BUT A FACT just the same, that the unification of Germany, on whatever terms, would be a deadly blow to the military plans of the Atlantic coalition. Under the circumstances, one can only regard Premier Grotewohl's latest offer of free all-German elections as a first-class monkey wrench tossed into the rather creaking machinery that is supposed to be fabricating an agreement to integrate an armed and sovereign West German state in the Atlantic community. Not only was the offer calculated to divide German opinion, which, no matter what its feelings toward Russia or the West, overwhelmingly supports the idea of union; it also promised to undermine the reluctant unanimity of the Western European states on the terms and tempo of German rearmament. That agreement, achieved in the recent discussions in Washington after long effort on the part of the United States, still faces the test of public opinion and parliamentary action in each country, and the unity offer is certain to be seized upon as an argument against it. The East German proposal was, to be sure, crisply and promptly rejected by Chancellor Adenauer. But the rejection did not stick. All the major parties, including the Socialists, the Free Democrats, and the Chancellor's Christian Democrats, opposed the government's action, with the result that Dr. Adenauer was forced to reverse his stand and submit to the Bundestag a reply to Premier Grotewohl offering detailed terms for unification. A further exchange is in the cards, but even if no agreement can be reached by the two German regimes, the maneuver will accomplish what was doubtless its primary aim: to create delay by distracting public attention from the issue of Bonn's future place in the Western defense system.

*

FLORIDA'S BOARD OF CONTROL, WHICH IS IN charge of higher education in the state, has obdurately spurned a suggestion from Negro leaders that college doors be opened to all students without waiting for an impending order from the United States Supreme Court. Although clear-cut federal-court decisions have forced the admission of some Negro students to "white" colleges in Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, Florida's Board of Control has not only refused to recognize these precedents but voted to discontinue the allocation of tuition funds to Florida Negroes who wish to pursue in out-of-state institutions studies not available to members of their race in Florida. This latter step appears to have been taken in retaliation for the refusal of Florida Negroes to accept makeshift and unaccredited law, pharmacy, and engineering schools which have been hurriedly established at the Negro state college at Tallahassee. Even earlier the Florida Supreme Court defied a decision of the United States Supreme Court upsetting the state court's approval of a Miami regulation barring Negroes from the municipal golf course for six days of each week. Evidently Florida is taking its stand with such states as Georgia and South Carolina, where white-supremacy advocates have threatened to abolish public education altogether rather than see it democratized.

*

THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS, FOLLOWING an investigation conducted in Germany, has released a list of ex-Nazis who have been appointed to high posts in the new Foreign Office of the West German Republic. Although most appointments to the Foreign Office have been made in secret, and full lists are not available to the public, the Congress has verified the following appointments: William Melchers, appointed vice-chief of the Department of Personnel, was formerly Ministerial Counselor in the Nazi Foreign Office and, as head of the Near Eastern Division from 1939 to 1945, his responsibilities included liaison with the ex-Grand Mufti (who directed anti-Zionist terrorist activities including the fierce riots of 1936-1939); Dr. Kurt Keinburg, assigned to work on economic problems, also held the rank of Ministerial Counselor under the Nazis and took an active part in the persecution of the Jews of Yugoslavia and the Balkan countries. Dr. Hans Schwarzmann, appointed to the Department of Personnel, was liaison between von Ribbentrop and Otto Abetz, Nazi Ambassador in France; Werner von Bargen, now in the Foreign Office's legal department, was formerly its representative to the Military High Command for Occupied Belgium; Hasso von Etzdorf, assigned to the legal department, was liaison man between the Nazi Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs von Weizsäcker and the German General Staff; Herbert von Strempel, appointed as permanent deputy to the new German

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 269
Joe Stubs His Toe 271
India as Independent *by Freda Kirchwey* 272

ARTICLES

From Franco's Border *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 273
Senator Morse to Colonel McCormick *by Willard Shelton* 275
How to Buy a College *by H. E. Bowen* 277
Press Gag for India? *by Jean Lyon* 279
The Oatis Trial *by James Lawrence Fly* 280

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

America's Foreign Policy: The Voice of Maturity *by H. Stuart Hughes* 282
A New Kind of Hero *by Harvey Swados* 283
A Man of Genius *by Keith Hutchison* 284
The Letters of Cicero *by Rolfe Humphries* 285
Books in Brief 286
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 286
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 287

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 288

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 433 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 288

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Minister to Brazil, was first secretary of the Nazi Embassy in Washington from 1938 until 1941. The Congress also reports that it has learned that the new Foreign Office will appoint ex-Nazis to the five highest posts in the political Department, to three of the five top positions in the Bureau of Protocol, and to the five highest offices in the "Peace Bureau." What do our policy makers in Washington think of these new recruits in the service of European democracy?

*

THREE YEARS AGO LIBERTY BROADCASTING Company was launched in Texas, with a minimum of fanfare, by Gordon McLendon. At first Liberty offered principally major-league baseball broadcasts to rural and small-town stations, but it soon expanded from a six- to a sixteen-hour-a-day network. By the end of 1950 it had become second in size among the five major networks, with 431 stations in forty-three states, Hawaii, Alaska, and Japan. Among the news commentators on the Liberty network were Raymond Gram Swing, William Shirer—with Joseph Harsh as his alternate—and John Vandercook. Mr. McLendon not only demonstrated excellent judgment in his selection of these men but gave them his complete backing and support. On August 3, H. R. Cullen, Texas oil man, purchased an interest in the network. Now John T. Flynn, active participant in the America First committee and author of "The Road Ahead," has been placed in charge of news broadcasts and commentaries. Mr. Swing, in the meantime, had left to join the Voice of America program, but Mr. Shirer promptly resigned, leaving his alternate and John Vandercook, both of whom have contracts, as liberalism's precarious survivors in a set-up which once held promise of providing a haven for commentators of proved integrity and independence. In light of these developments, it must be assumed that WCFL, a 50,000-watt Chicago station, owned and operated by the A. F. of L., was unaware of the changes before signing a contract recently with Liberty Broadcasting Company.

*

LONG DISTRESSED BY THE INTERNATIONAL situation, the Vatican has now a new worry, stemming from the attitude of Catholic workers in France and Italy in the recent strikes. In Italy the Catholics went along with the Communists and Socialists in the strike of government employees that paralyzed railroad travel for twenty-four hours. The object of the strike, as is almost always the case these days, was an increase in pay; wages of civil-service workers range from 25,000 lire ($60) to 120,000 lire ($120) a month. With a prospective deficit of 450 billion lire in the next financial year, as the result, mainly, of rearmament, the able Finance Minister, Giuseppe Pella, opposes the workers' demands for a 12 to 13 per cent raise, arguing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that to yield means inflation, and collapse of the rearmament program. The Vatican would like to separate the Catholic from the Communist unions in the coming labor struggle, but it feels uncomfortable in opposing the workers' demands when Pius XII has been acclaimed as "the social-minded Pope." Its situation is made more difficult by the action of the French Catholic unions in inviting the Communist and Socialist unions to join them in examining "the possibility of establishing a common program that will enable us to realize our social objectives." This time the Catholic workers are not being "dragged along" by the Communists; they have taken the initiative for unity.

*

AN INCONSPICUOUS PARAGRAPH FOUND IN a routine story points up the current American trend in ideological fashions. The Houston *Post* recently carried a story describing the eagerness with which 130 natives of more than a dozen countries were admitted to full American citizenship on the recommendation of Examiner Q. W. Bynum of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The examiner told the federal district judge that eighteen of the applicants admitted membership in such organizations as the Hitler Youth Movement, but, he pointed out, this did not bar them from American citizenship under the 1950 internal-security law. "None," he said, "had ever been a Communist or a member of a Communist-front organization, only Nazi and Fascist"; thus, there was no evidence of a lack of loyalty. In this instance, at least, it can only be hoped that Texas is, indeed, the "Lone Star" state.

Joe Stubs His Toe

THE Senate Rules subcommittee has finally voted to hear Senator William Benton state his case for the expulsion of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. The case, of course, largely arises out of the damaging findings of the same subcommittee on the role that McCarthy played in the disgraceful Maryland senatorial campaign of 1950. But McCarthy is not yet on trial. The subcommittee will simply listen to whatever evidence Senator Benton cares to submit. According to the chairman, Senator Gilette, the subcommittee has embarked upon "an uncharted sea," since there is apparently no record of an expulsion proceeding originating under precisely these circumstances. Presumably the subcommittee could report to the full Rules Committee that grounds for expulsion exist, or, if it respects the procedural preferences of Senator Gillette, it would submit an affirmative recommendation to the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman is Senator Pat McCarran. To refer the matter to a committee chaired by McCarran would be like asking McCarthy to recommend his own expulsion.

While it is still unlikely that a resolution calling for McCarthy's expulsion can be brought to the floor of the Senate, it is quite clear that Joe has been placed on the defensive and that he has committed several tactical errors. He did not add to his popularity in the Senate by seeking to disqualify two Republican members of the subcommittee because one had written and the other signed the famous "Declaration of Conscience." Senator Margaret Chase Smith promptly demanded and later received a vote of confidence from the full committee. But a still more serious mistake was McCarthy's clumsy attempt to smear Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri who is also a member of the subcommittee. Against Senator Hennings, McCarthy made two accusations: that Hennings's law partner, John Raeburn Green, has consented to serve as counsel for John Gates, Communist editor of the *Daily Worker*; and that the firm of which Hennings and Green are members represents the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, which expressed agreement with the dissenting opinions of Justices Black and Douglas in the Dennis case and, worse, has even dared to criticize McCarthy. In refusing to disqualify himself Senator Hennings accused McCarthy of resorting to "distortion and deceit" in an effort to divert attention from Senator Benton's resolution and of "inventing smears and lies" against members of the Senate. In attacking these Senators, McCarthy has offended and perhaps permanently alienated a group of colleagues on whose support he might otherwise have relied. Nor has he improved matters much by sudden effusions of friendship for "Margaret" and "Tom."

While Senator Benton was pressing his charges against McCarthy, Senator Herbert H. Lehman added a special luster to his distinguished career by reading into the Senate record, over strenuous objection, three timely, courageous, and forthright articles by Joseph Alsop which the New York *Herald Tribune* published, with amusingly timid editorial reservations, on September 10, 12, and 14. These articles directly challenged the accuracy of testimony given by the imaginative Louis Budenz, whose memory seems to improve under Senatorial prompting. Specifically, Mr. Alsop, with first-hand knowledge of the facts, charged that the Senate Internal Security subcommittee had "led" Budenz into "remembering" that he knew John Carter Vincent as a Communist although a year previously he had refused to identify Mr. Vincent as a Communist. Publication, at this juncture, of Henry Wallace's letter to the President, and of the accompanying documents neatly completed the case against Budenz and confronted the Senate with a sharply defined issue. This issue, as Mr. Alsop states it, is simply this: Do the liberties of the citizen still have any meaning, or are interested politicians to be allowed "to run their own star-chamber proceedings at will, and to round up any victims they please, on any kind of evi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dence, however phony." Senator McCarran, who may be able to block the attempt to oust McCarthy, shouted his answer: "All the Alsops from here to perdition can't keep my subcommittee from going forward. When you get close to hogs, they start to squeal."

A great deal has been said in the Senate in recent months about morals, ethics, and integrity. Senators have castigated party leaders and public officials for improper conduct. The Kefauver committee has focused the nation's scorn on local law-enforcement officials who have yielded to political pressure and "looked the other way." Senators have orated, moaned, preached, and even wept in public over the sad state of American political morality. But the good faith of the Senate is itself now directly at stake. If it fails to take cognizance of the charges made against Budenz, and by clear implication against the staff and members of the McCarran subcommittee, or if it permits the resolution for McCarthy's ouster to be bottled up in a committee chaired by McCarran, then it will have forfeited the privilege it currently enjoys of addressing homilies on both public and private morality to all and sundry.

India as Independent

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LIKE other national leaders, Jawarharlal Nehru has his faults. On Kashmir he seems to us unduly rigid, even though technically and legally his stand can without question be defended. The proposed press law, discussed by Jean Lyon on page 279 of this issue, illustrates the same arbitrary streak in the Indian Prime Minister's public character. But here, too, reckless misuse of press freedom, by political and communal elements alike, to incite bloody riots and terrorist acts provides an excuse which has been too easily ignored by foreign critics. In fact, the growing tendency, especially in the United States, is to scold Nehru and make much of all possible mistakes or errors of judgment in order to establish a base from which to attack his position on foreign affairs.

Nehru's disagreement with American policy on Korea and China, and more lately on the Japanese treaty, has brought upon him a barrage of criticism which seems deliberately aimed at undermining his position as leader of the free nations of Asia. Even such responsible organs as the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* have joined the more rabid nationalist press in treating Nehru's differences of opinion as evidence of a pro-Soviet "neutralism." Conformity with the Washington line is made the test of his devotion to democracy—Western style. Nehru has chosen independence. He is committed to a policy designed to secure India against domination by either Moscow or the West, to promote its interests, and to maintain peace among the Asian states. He steadfastly reiterates his devotion to democracy—a thing he should not, on his record, be required to do—and trusts to the common sense and decency of the West not to exact a political price for continued good relations and economic help.

Whether or not this trust is justified we do not know. It is good to have a man like Gardner Cowles, the editor of *Look*, urge the State Department to "rethink" its policy toward Asia, pointing out that India, with 360,000,000 people, is the last important stronghold of democracy in Asia." It is good, too, that the confirmation of Chester Bowles's appointment as ambassador to New Delhi insures increased understanding in Washington of India's problems and point of view. But other influences are at work too, not only in Congress and the government but among outside groups that call themselves liberal. These groups seem to regard independence or a concentration on national interests in an ally as symptoms of Titoism in the American camp—an attitude hardly distinguishable from that of their enemies, the Communists.

Nehru and his government should not allow themselves to be rattled or silenced by these complaints. Naturally they should welcome friendly criticism and weigh it on its merits, but they cannot afford to relinquish the advantages that flow from independence. One of these is the ability to talk to both sides. However "Western" may be the thinking and democratic concepts of Nehru, his interests are not by any means identified with the West. His country's closest ties will always be with its Asian neighbors, and so will its conflicts. Once India becomes no more than a pensioner and adjunct of the Western bloc it forfeits its great role, which is to be the leader of the new free states of Asia.

A second advantage is linked to the first. With independence, India could be the greatest force for peace in the Eastern world. Even now Nehru's position has a unique moral and political importance which has been demonstrated by the experience of Korea. Despite the practical failure of the peace efforts of the Arab-Asian states, it is significant that they rallied around India as the logical mediator in the struggle. With greater energy and boldness and a sharper sense of public relations Nehru's influence might perhaps have been more effectively asserted, though the whole weight of big-power intransigence was massed against him. But the example remains. To millions of people, in America as elsewhere, India under Nehru has become a symbol of reasonableness and good will, the one great nation that is prepared to put to a perilous test its faith in the possible coexistence of various, even conflicting, systems of government and ways of living. India today stands for conciliation and peace, for freedom and multiplicity, and it would be a tragedy if this spirit were to weaken under the pressure for uniformity that emanates from Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Franco's Border

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

On the Spanish border, September

I HAD a different purpose in visiting the Spanish border this time from that which brought me here two years ago. And it did not neeessitate my crossing the mountains and entering Spain secretly. Franco's people, warned by my first venture, would have been pleased to see me try, but it was for me, not them, to decide what risks I should take. The principal purpose of this visit was to ascertain the reactions of Spaniards to the United States' intervention in Spanish affairs. Arrangements had been made so that I was able to talk to people from many parts of the country.

The first thing to take into account in judging the feelings of anti-Franco Spaniards—at least two-thirds of the population, according to conservative estimates—is the internal situation at the time of Admiral Sherman's visit, when Washington decided to include Spain in the West's strategic system. The United States came to Franco's aid just as his regime was on the brink of collapse. I described in *The Nation** the wave of strikes which swept through the country in the spring, and emphasized their significance as a portent of general rebellion—a significance which was recognized by all foreign observers in Spain, including American correspondents. But only those who have had a chance to speak directly with the labor leaders and to hear about their carefully worked-out plans can realize the strength of the gathering movement against the dictatorship.

The strikes shook the entire peninsula. To the long-existing Republican and Monarchist opposition was added that of the upper bourgeoisie—which became convinced that a few months more of Franco would invite a violent revolution—of the lower middle classes, of a considerable part of the army, of a section of big business, and even of many priests and some members of the Catholic hierarchy. Unquestionably the end was near—it was only necessary to let events take their natural course. At that crucial moment the United States tipped the scales the other way. I am not trying to be melodramatic, nor am I expressing only my own opinion. The majority of Spaniards understand perfectly the effect of the American action. And this explains a phenomenon which I regret to have to report: while the Spanish people felt no animosity toward Americans during the Cuban war—so my father told me—believing their own government more to blame than that of the enemy, resentment against the United States is now intense. The Communists, of course, are the chief beneficiaries of this feeling. A few months ago they had little influence in the anti-Franco movement, but since Washington's intervention they have become twice as powerful, their anti-American propaganda supported by the event.

In some circles it is felt that the United States might at least have exacted some liberalization of the regime as a condition of American aid. The terror continues, if somewhat disguised; the hunger is the same and is expected to grow worse, for no one believes that any appreciable part of the four hundred or eight hundred million dollars provided by the United States will be used to alleviate the misery of the people. The money will go to the insiders—the rich, the high-placed grafters, the *estraperlistas*, the black-marketeers. It will also stimulate the already acute inflation.

From talking with people who have just come out of Spain, I have been able to get an accurate picture of what a minimum subsistence diet for a family of five now costs. For breakfast: half a liter of milk (a little over a pint), coffee being too expensive, five pieces of bread bought on the ration, a little malt for the children—total cost, 7 pesetas (50 cents). For luncheon (this meal, at 2 p. m., used to be fairly hearty): beans, 12 pesetas; bread, at the black-market price, since the ration was used up at breakfast, 7 pesetas; oil, some awful kind, since all the olive oil is exported, 7 pesetas. For dinner lentils may be substituted for beans, but the rest is the same. Never a pound of meat, an egg, a sweet. The three meals for five people cost about 60 pesetas (almost $4.50), but a railroad worker earns only 12 pesetas a day, a skilled metal-worker a maximum of 26 pesetas. The men who are intrusted with the defense of the state are not much better off. A member of the Civil Guard serving in the mountains, where the pay is highest, with all his supplementary allowances receives 740 pesetas a month; a policeman, 600 pesetas. Added together, the cost of food, clothing, and shelter for a family of five comes to 4,000 pesetas a month. A lieutenant in the army gets 1,175 pesetas a month, a general 4,800.

The tuberculosis rate in Spain is the highest in the world, higher than in India.

Of course the American tourists who invaded Spain last summer found it a paradise and returned full of praise of Franco. Where else in the world could you get a room at a first-class hotel for $1—provided you changed your money on the black market—and a suit made to order for $25? A less numerous invasion goes on in the opposite direction. Every day Spaniards cross into France to buy bread—the "hunger column," the

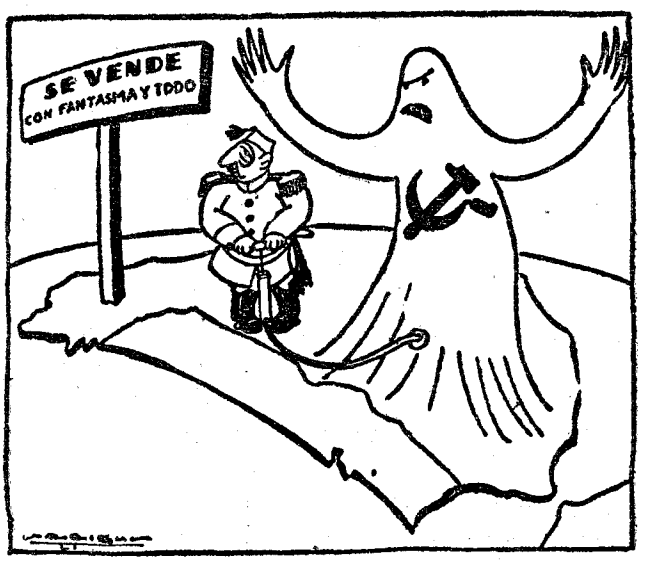
* Issues of March 24 and June 2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French call them. On Sunday, September 9, fourteen Frenchmen from St. Jean-de-Luz went in a small motor boat to watch the yacht races off San Sebastian. Twenty-two persons returned. Eight Spaniards, with only a few pesetas among them, had swum out to the boat and begged desperately to be landed somewhere in France.

EVEN the people who might be expected to rejoice over American aid have mixed feelings about it. Military men are naturally pleased at the prospect of receiving planes and guns and equipment. One of the things discovered by the American commissions which have been investigating military conditions in Spain is that there is practically nothing to show for all the money that has been appropriated for the army, navy, and air force in recent years. The budget of the army has been constantly increased at the expense of education and the social services, but the frightful corruption of the Falangist regime has prevented any visible improvement. Fear that the hundreds of millions which the United States is disposed to spend to prepare Spain to fight will sink into the same bottomless pit considerably reduces the satisfaction of honest military men in the expected aid.

Moreover, while officers and soldiers can only be thankful that American dollars are to extricate the army from the deplorable plight into which it has been forced by administrative inefficiency and corruption, they feel that Spanish dignity and pride have been injured. I was told by one of their number that they find it intolerable that Spain should put its bases and other strategic assets at the service of the West and still be kept out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Franco's acceptance of this affront to Spain will prove more damaging to the regime than all its cruelty and corruption. People everywhere are asking what about his boasts of a united, invincible Spain which would never bow to U. N. resolutions of censure or other indirect pressure. Resentment



Courtesy *Lealtad* (Montevideo)

"For Sale, Ghost and All"

of the "sell-out" has been especially strong in the officers' clubs, where the Monarchists have been trying for years to break down loyalty to Franco. What their propaganda could not do, American intervention has accomplished.

One man who served Franco faithfully in the war said to me: "First he sold part of the country on the domestic black market; now he has sold the rest, including national sovereignty, on the international black market. There is a great patriot for you; there is the Caudillo who has been telling the United Nations that Spain would never yield to foreign pressure!" The legend of Franco has been deflated for many of his former followers and for the army he has offered to the Americans, not even insisting that the condition of his entering the Western camp must be an equal voice for his country with the other Atlantic powers.

Falangist propaganda tries to place all the blame for this situation on Great Britain and France. Although the Franco radio and press, in deference to the wishes of Ambassador Griffis, has in recent weeks somewhat tempered its insults, hatred of the two countries is flaunted in all circles close to the dictator. Pro-Franco diehards talk hopefully of the day when with an American-equipped army they will be able to "give a good lesson to France." The French are disturbed to see the United States courting Franco, not only because they dislike Hitler's old ally but because they foresee he might one day become a threat to their own security.

Strangely enough, the Spanish situation is affected in two contrary ways by the new policy of the United States. The financial support given the regime has undoubtedly saved it from imminent collapse; on the other hand, the transformation of Spain into a kind of modern protectorate, under American rule, may have given Franco the kiss of death. I have spoken of the wound to Spanish pride; additional antagonism will be aroused by the inevitable conflicts between the Spanish authorities and the Americans who will reorganize and control the military establishment. To obtain arms and equipment from America is one thing; to take orders from Americans is another. "In accepting financial aid Franco has permitted the canker to enter his body; in the end he will succumb to the infection"—to use the words of a prominent Spanish manufacturer with whom I have talked. He added, "In his place I would have preferred to live in the greatest poverty rather than compromise the homogeneity and prestige of my rule by a bargain which is bound to divide my own followers and give the opposition an invincible argument."

Encouraging as is this interpretation, the fact remains that the process of Spain's liberation has been interrupted and the people's sufferings cruelly prolonged. The opposition inside Spain realizes that the new situation created requires it to redouble its efforts and use every weapon at its command. Fortunately, the unions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emerged from the strikes of last spring stronger and more articulate than before. At present they have more influence than the underground political parties. They receive support from European unions but complain that neither the A. F. of L. nor the C. I. O. has offered any effective opposition to Washington's new policy toward Spain, though both organizations pledged themselves to support the protest movement against recognition of Franco decided on by the International Federation of Trade Unions at its Brussels meeting.

To think that the struggle for freedom in Spain is over would be to ignore the fighting quality of Spaniards. It will go on. And it will become even more violent and desperate.

Senator Morse to Colonel McCormick

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, September 25

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE of Oregon is sometimes called a "maverick" Republican by people who do not understand his definition of himself as a constitutional liberal. He is at the moment an important Republican because he is the one Senator on his side of the chamber with the will and courage to wage full-scale war on the powerful Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune* and Washington *Times-Herald*.

Colonel McCormick's modest ambition is to name the national candidates of his party and commit the party to his own peculiar concepts of patriotism and good government. In 1944 he was denounced by Wendell L. Willkie as a menace to the country and a handicap to the Republican Party, and his candidate was beaten in the Wisconsin Presidential primary election, close to McCormick's own bailiwick. Since then he has had indifferent success in the political field: his handpicked Republican candidates were overwhelmed in Illinois in 1948, when Adlai Stevenson was elected Governor and Paul Douglas Senator, but he made a comeback in 1950 when Everett Dirksen beat Scott Lucas for the Senate.

McCormick is the only surviving member of the newspaper triumvirate that once included himself as publisher of the *Tribune,* Captain Joseph Medill Patterson as publisher of the New York *Daily News,* and Mrs. Eleanor (Cissie) Patterson as publisher of the Washington *Times-Herald*. By virtue of longevity McCormick at seventy-one is master of all three newspaper properties, although he gives the New York paper's executives a relatively free hand. In Washington he has taken direct command of the *Times-Herald* after an abortive attempt to run it through a niece, Mrs. Ruth McCormick Miller Tankersley, and in a few months has turned it into a carbon copy of the *Tribune*.

The mind of McCormick as revealed in his newspapers and his weekly radio speeches—he sponsors himself on a national hookup—is fantastic and wonderful. The New Deal–Fair Deal is now and always has been a Communist plot to overthrow the Republic. Roosevelt, General Marshall, Cordell Hull, and Henry L. Stimson deliberately "provoked" Japan's Pearl Harbor attack, knew about it in advance, and concealed the information from our field commanders so that more American ships could be sunk and more soldiers and sailors killed.

Republicans who object to McCormick's isolationism and hatred of Roosevelt and Truman are as bad as New Dealers or worse. The *Tribune* constantly belabored the late Senator Vandenberg; today it and the *Times-Herald* belabor Lodge and Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Ives of New York, Duff of Pennsylvania, Aiken of Vermont, Tobey of New Hampshire. Dewey "sold out" as long ago as 1943, when he advocated a post-war alliance with Britain. At that time he was "read out" of the Republican Party by the *Tribune*—which nevertheless reluctantly supported him as the party's nominee in 1944 and 1948. Roosevelt was, and Truman is, a Machiavellian schemer constantly trying to plant "Trojan horse" and "me-too" candidates among the Republicans. One of the more familiar McCormick editorial clichés is the assertion that since this country is not a democracy but a representative republic, people who prate of democracy are no better than Communists and are probably Soviet conspirators.

The Republicans of whom McCormick approves are honest John Bricker of Ohio, Joe Martin of Massachusetts, and Joe McCarthy. The *Tribune* was a master in the gentle art of character assassination and the technique of proving guilt by association or accusation long before McCarthy reached the national scene, but the *Tribune* and *Times-Herald* are grateful for the cooperation of the Wisconsin hatchet-man, who puts a wealth of material into the *Congressional Record* and thus makes it available for publication. Another McCormick hero, of course, is General of the Army Douglas MacArthur; the *Tribune* and *Times-Herald* were not scandalized when MacArthur neglected to take off his uniform before making a political speech in effect supporting Robert A. Taft for President.

McCormick's one and only candidate is Taft, and his

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly The Nation's *Washington correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

newspapers flagellate Republican deviates who are unhappy about the prospect of being stuck with Taft and would like to reach some understanding with General Eisenhower. (If Taft fails to make the grade, McCormick might not be too unhappy to see the Taft delegates drop into the anxiously waiting hands of the Colonel's personal ambassador to the United States Senate, the mellifluous orator, Dirksen.)

Senator Morse

It is too early to tell how McCormick's invasion of the Washington newspaper field will work out. The Colonel says he despaired of ever teaching Washington anything about America; so he brought America, to wit, himself, to the capital. In Chicago the *Tribune* is enormously successful, but the formula cannot be transferred intact. The *Times-Herald* now runs many *Tribune* editorials and anti-Administration stories reflecting McCormick's fetishes, but it can scarcely bait and belittle government workers as the *Tribune* does, or earn its editorial bread by arguing that Midwesterners are more patriotic than Americans on the Atlantic seaboard. Its circulation, with around-the-clock editions, is the highest in Washington, but both circulation and advertising are slipping. Cissie Patterson gave the *Times-Herald* an individualistic if somewhat shrill and shrewish tone, and fed the readers plenty of page-three sex stories. McCormick's moralistic instincts apparently were offended by page three, which has been tapered off, but substitution of five columns of text of one of the Colonel's own speeches does not seem likely to win new friends among the government girls.

RECENTLY the *Tribune* and *Times-Herald* ran an editorial "reading" Wayne Morse "out of the party." After the MacArthur hearings Morse had issued an individual report upholding the President's action in firing the General and warning his Republican colleagues not to be caught in the MacArthur trap. Morse has repeatedly demanded an investigation of the China lobby. Goaded beyond endurance, the McCormick papers denounced him as a "Republican in name only" and demanded that he be thrown out of the Senate Republican caucus. Morse's response was prompt and refreshing.

Speaking on the Senate floor, he first inserted the *Tribune–Times-Herald* editorial in the *Record* and then smashed back at the newspapers as "mouthpieces of reaction" and instruments of a "type of American fascism" that would ruin the Republican Party if it became dominant in party councils. As he has done on several other occasions in recent months, he warned that if the Republican Party entered the campaign next year under the banner of reaction, isolationism toward Europe, and unlimited war in Asia, he would bolt the party. "The junior Senator from Oregon will be heard across this country from platform to platform," he said, "if the reactionary wing of the party" captures control. If the party adopts the political philosophy of McCormick, he added, "it must be repudiated by the people."

After hearing McCormick's rejoinder to the effect that he was a New Deal liar, Morse took the floor again to discuss the Colonel. Journalistic hardening of the arteries had reached "such an advanced stage with McCormick," he declared, "that if a liberal thought could get through his cortex, a thought that placed the interest of the American people above the reactionary forces he serves, he would die of a brain hemorrhage."

The junior Senator from Oregon had had a taste of McCormickism before. Conservatives poured money into the state last year to try to beat him in the Republican primary with a candidate fortuitously named Hoover, and billboards in every town blossomed with bold appeals to the voters to nominate a "real Republican." Morse accepted the challenge. He told his audiences that he would continue to think and vote independently and did not seek their support unless they wanted an independent Senator. He won an overwhelming victory in the primary and beat his Democratic opponent in the election by 376,000 to 116,000.

Most liberal Republicans from the East and West coasts are dead set against Taft as the party's 1952 nominee. They have observed the deterioration of Taft's once scrupulous integrity and the abasement of their party in the McCarthy-MacArthur episodes. But their only candidate is Eisenhower—and they don't really know whether Eisenhower will run or not. It would have been interesting to look into Taft's mind as Morse concluded his diatribe against McCormick with the remark that he "considered it a great compliment" whenever he was attacked by the *Times-Herald* and *Tribune* and that he would "consider himself disgraced" if he ever found McCormick supporting him politically.

A generation ago Alfred E. Smith blasted the political ambitions of William Randolph Hearst by telling a New York State Democratic Convention that he would refuse to run for Governor if the convention, as some Tammany bosses desired, nominated Hearst for the Senate. Smith excoriated Hearst as a yellow journalist no decent person would touch with a ten-foot pole—and Tammany surrendered. McCormick differs from Hearst in that he does not seek office himself; he merely wants to be master of the Republican Party. It is refreshing to hear one Republican Senator talk back to him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Buy a College

BY H. E. BOWEN

Demorest, Georgia, September 26

LAST year, when Jefferson Military College refused Judge George W. Armstrong's tender of fifty million dollars because of the odious condition that "white-supremacy" doctrines had to be taught, *Life* quoted the Judge as saying that he was going to start his own college. Although he has not yet, to my knowledge, done so, he has given at least a thousand dollars to a small liberal-arts college in northern Georgia.

Piedmont College may return the money to the Judge and accept no more gifts from his Texas Educational Association; or it may welcome such gifts and face ultimate ruination. Until later this fall, when a special committee reports to the board of trustees, the college's fate will remain undecided. That the acceptance or rejection of the race-obsessed judge's money has been so long in abeyance is disgraceful, but the community can be congratulated that popular opinion has for some months triumphed over the moral flabbiness of a few. There has not been much sympathy in Georgia for those who would accept Judge Armstrong's money, even with "no strings attached!"

Piedmont College, in Demorest, of which I am an alumnus, matriculates two hundred or so pupils and maintains a vague connection with the Congregational church. After the war I returned to Piedmont to teach English and dramatics. In 1949 James E. Walter, D. D., Piedmont, 1947, became president of the college.

On Monday, November 20, 1950, on the eve of what was to be a pleasant student-faculty pre-Thanksgiving banquet, it suddenly became known that General George Van Horn Moseley would be guest of honor and principal speaker at the affair. Because I was unwilling to preside over festivities honoring such a man, I resigned as master of ceremonies. Then the head of the English Department and I, after confirming our recollections of the General by some library research, went to the president's office. General Moseley, however, was already there, and we were unable to see Dr. Walter. At the banquet General Moseley, introduced by Dr. Walter as a great soldier, rambled incoherently of "Americanism," lapsing only once into racist talk.

For the moment we were dismayed merely that this known racist had been foisted on the school as "guest of honor," an expression which could only imply our approval of him. We were ignorant of the graver implications of the General's visit until the following afternoon, when President Walter announced at the regular faculty meeting that General Moseley was inspecting the school with a view to obtaining for it $500 a month, without any guaranty of continuance—that is, the donations could be stopped at any time with no explanation. Although the college treasurer, David Eddy, a friend of the president, had that very morning, armed with apposite literature, relayed our distress to him, Dr. Walter made no reference to General Moseley's views until he was asked if he was aware that Moseley had in 1939 advocated the extermination of all "mongrel" peoples in the United States. "I knew all about the man and I have no apologies to make," Dr. Walter angrily retorted. Then he told us that two trustees of the college had indorsed Moseley. Finally he said, "I got him here; what are you going to do about it?" I replied, "I intend to denounce him publicly."

This I did in a speech in Wednesday-morning chapel, the only time the school would meet before the students went home for Thanksgiving. I described the "guest of honor" as the hate-propagator he was and then asked those present who repudiated General Moseley to rise. Only 5 of the 215 present remained seated.

At my request President Walter had disclosed the names of the two trustees who he said had indorsed Moseley. I had been able to talk to one of them before the Wednesday chapel, and at the conclusion of my speech I informed the faculty that this trustee had told me he had not known of the General's visit until after it occurred. This trustee and later the other denied indorsing the General's ideas.

General Moseley's views seemingly did not concern President Walter. He replied to my objections by referring to the funds the General and his friends would make available to us. A letter submitted to Dr. Walter two weeks later by eight faculty members respectfully requesting "a clarification of your views concerning General George Van Horn Moseley and the things for which he stands" remains unanswered.

While the trustee with whom I spoke prior to the Wednesday chapel did not indorse General Moseley's views, he supported President Walter's course. He had no objection to taking the General's money, he said, "if there were no strings attached." So far, at least two $500 checks from Judge Armstrong's Texas Educational Association of Fort Worth have, presumably on General Moseley's recommendation, been received by Piedmont College. They were dated January 18, 1951, and Febru-

---

H. E. BOWEN, formerly on the faculty of Piedmont College, is now doing graduate work at Columbia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ary 2, 1951, and were accepted despite the promise President Walter made to aroused students and faculty on December 11, 1950, that no Armstrong funds would be pocketed before the students had stated their objections to the executive committee of the board of trustees.

The receipt of the money was revealed to the Atlanta *Constitution* by a girl student disturbed by the trustees' dismissal of myself and Dr. A. R. Van Cleave, dean, and former president, of the college. Dean Van Cleave had also made known his opposition to taking Armstrong money. "On February 5, 1951, relations between Mr. Eddy [the college treasurer] and Dr. Walter seemed strained," the student stated in an open letter in the *Lamp*, a student publication. Mr. Eddy had showed her the two checks. She had said nothing then about them because she understood she was to keep college business confidential. But "about a month later, when Dr. Van Cleave was asked to resign and Mr. Bowen was fired," she continued, "I thought of the phrase 'no strings attached.' "

"NO strings attached." Many good Georgians worried over those words as weekly and daily papers brought our struggle to their attention. A Demorest woman wrote to an Atlanta paper:

> "Why shouldn't Piedmont College take money from the Texas Foundation?" you ask. Someone else has said, "If you were a doctor you wouldn't refuse to take a fee from a bootlegger." And another, "Why not take it if there are no strings attached?" I'm amazed, frightened! Is it possible that so many people cannot see that what matters is not where the money comes from but the purpose for which it is given and which it has already begun to accomplish? . . . What General Moseley is and stands for is known by Dr. Walter, by his own admission, and surely by the trustees as well. . . .
>
> A doctor has performed a service for the bootlegger's money. It is a finished transaction. But this grant to Piedmont *does* have strings, and the first one is the manner of giving, the threat to withdraw at any time. It can gradually be increased until it talks very loud to those more interested in financial solvency than in integrity. What other invisible strings are there? Can Dr. Walter prove that the Texas Education Foundation did not "suggest" that he get rid of Dr. Van Cleave, Mr. Bowen, and Mr. Eddy? Can anyone know that whoever replaces these and others who resign or are fired are not "suggested" by the Texas Education Foundation?

David Brewer Eddy, Jr., was fired on March 17. President Walter ordered him out of the treasurer's office without notice or written statement of the alleged justification for breaking Mr. Eddy's contract. The reason given to the press was that Mr. Eddy sided with the insubordinate teacher, Bowen.

And how had the trustees gone about firing the insubordinate teacher, Bowen? My first experience of the sort of treatment I was to receive came on December 11, 1950, when Pope F. Brock, the second of the two trustees named by President Walter as indorsing Moseley, informed a select group of students and faculty members that I had attacked him in my chapel speech. My speech was extemporaneous, and no complete transcript of it exists, but I can reproduce it fairly accurately from memory. This is what I said:

> Most of you know me but a few may not, so I will tell you that I saw something of the last war. I was on active duty from a year before it started until a year after the fighting ended. Wars are horrible. There is much in war to hate. But the worst thing about war is not seeing the still jerking limb blown from a body or watching a flame thrower in action. The worst thing about wars is that they don't stay fought. The slimy creatures who cause them crawl under the rocks when the heat is on and crawl out again when the heat is off. Friends whom I loved as dearly as a brother were killed in that war. I have seen men killed and maimed. I say this not with any pretense that it makes me a hero but to say that many of us did not know what we were fighting for . . . but we knew what we were fighting against.
>
> Last Monday evening General George Van Horn Moseley, U. S. A., retired, was guest of honor at our Thanksgiving banquet. Most of you are too young to remember when General Moseley was widely quoted as indorsing the German-American Bund: as saying that Nazism was a good thing for the American people. He went further, according to the *Christian Century*, and proposed a plan to put the entire country under martial law and then exterminate all "mongrel peoples." He is quoted as saying that this massacre would make all massacres in history look like peaceful church parades. This is what we were fighting against. And I will continue to fight it whenever and wherever I find it.
>
> Now I would like to ask those of you who repudiate the things for which General Moseley stands to please rise. [Here is where 210 of the 215 present stood up to be counted.]
>
> Now if anyone tries to tell you that Piedmont College represents the things that Moseley represents, you have seen proof to the contrary. Making him guest of honor did not represent the sentiments of the students or faculty but was the work of one individual on campus.

IN EARLY February I asked Dr. A. T. Cline, president of the board of trustees, to let me present my side of the "Thanksgiving incident" at the annual meeting of the board on February 20. Dr. Cline said that the incident could not be discussed at the meeting. It was at this meeting, however, that the board decided not to renew my contract, and President Walter himself told me that the sole reason was the "Thanksgiving incident." On March 5 President Walter said to a joint protest meeting of students and faculty, "Bowen will be given

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a hearing if he requests it in writing." My written request was received by him on March 14. To date I have not been heard.

Apparently in response to student, faculty, and alumni agitation, the trustees decided on June 2, in the course of the annual meeting, that Dean A. R. Van Cleave had not been dismissed after all. The students have requested removal of President Walter; faculty and students have recommended the return of Texas Educational Association funds; the Alumni Association has voted to withhold support from the college as long as it takes T. E. A. money and as long as James E. Walter remains president. Early this summer, Professor Francis C. Cook, head of the English Department, resigned.

For myself, I have tried to evaluate what acceptance of $500 of Armstrong money a month may do to Piedmont College, and what, indeed, the phrase "no strings attached" means. That a man should be convicted on a fragment of inaccurate evidence which he was not allowed to see, at a meeting he did not know was taking place, may have no connection with the receipt of Judge Armstrong's money. This foul procedure may conceivably reflect the tempers of other men. But assume that the Texas Educational Association will not influence the curriculum, admission policies, or appointment at Piedmont College, there still accrues to Judge Armstrong the reputation for contributing to Piedmont College; and who knows what other colleges may not be lured into accepting his money, and on more favorable terms?

The decision of the trustees to appoint a committee to study further the matter of accepting or rejecting the Texas Educational Association grant was a last-minute one. Just four days before the June 2 meeting at which this decision was taken, on May 29, the last day of classes, a special investigating committee appeared unexpectedly on the campus. Its head, Kendall Weisiger, a retired executive of Southern Bell Telephone, announced to the press that it did not go to Piedmont to consider the acceptance of Armstrong funds. "We went there," he said, "on the request of the school alumni to gather facts about the administration and the fight brought on by the dismissal of English instructor H. E. Bowen, Dean A. R. Van Cleave, and Treasurer David Eddy. . . . Surely nobody believes that for $500 a month the board of trustees, twenty-one intelligent and honorable men and women, would let anyone 'take over' the school or dictate policy." The acceptance of the money, he added, was "a finished, decided thing."

But thanks to students, faculty, alumni, some trustees, and an alert press, it won't be decided until later this fall.

Press Gag for India?

BY JEAN LYON

New Delhi, September 20

AROUND the India Coffee House on Delhi's Queensway, where the capital's newsmen hang out, are many who believe that freedom of the press in India is now on trial for its life. They say that the new government-sponsored press bill, which Parliament has recently passed on to a Select Committee, will be a death sentence if it becomes law. With both the Congress Party and the government behind it, there is little chance that the bill can be defeated.

To Prime Minister Nehru and his Home Minister, C. Rajagopalachari, who have argued eloquently in favor of the bill, it has no such dangerous implications. They explain it as a protective measure designed to preserve law and order at home and friendly relations abroad. The heart of the government's argument was contained in the Home Minister's statement in Parliament: "We require public order and peace so that we may make progress and take equal rank with other great self-governing nations within a reasonably brief period."

The very vocal opposition to the bill comes from three groups—the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, the All-India Working Journalists' Federation (a fledgling reporters' trade union), and the various opposition political parties, ranging from the Hindu Mahasabha to the Socialists and Communists; all these parties fear that the provisions of the bill may work against them in the coming national elections.

The Home Minister talked of liberty versus license. When opponents of the bill argued that the libel and obscenity laws applicable to individuals were sufficient to control press misdemeanors, he pointed out the difference between controlling motor cars and bullock carts. When the opposition cited the absence of such laws in other countries, he reminded it, "We belong neither to the East nor to the West. Our laws must be of our own pattern." When the opposition worried that the law could easily be too loosely applied, he said, "The value of a penal law lies in its non-application, not in its constant use."

That the government faces a special set of circum-

JEAN LYON, an American newspaperwoman, reports frequently to The Nation *on what is happening in India.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stances cannot be denied. Since India achieved independence, newspapers have blossomed all over the country; the southern city of Trivandrum alone has more than forty, dailies and weeklies, some consisting of only one or two pages. Many of these new papers are tools of politicians and opportunists with no knowledge of press traditions and few scruples. Their reporting is often irresponsible, and their editorials have been credited with causing mob violence on both communal and political issues.

The English-language paper most often cited as an example of this irresponsibility is a Bombay weekly called *Blitz*. A noisy, tabloid type of paper, it takes a leftist line and is sometimes dubbed a Communist sheet. *Blitz* has had little good to say of Nehru. It attacks Truman and the United States constantly and with gusto. It plays up its own "inside" stories about British or American "plots" in this quarter or that. The sensationalism with which the stories are headlined and written often beclouds what facts may have crept into them.

Blitz's theory about the press bill is that Nehru is unable to take the personal attacks upon him it has printed and is urging passage of the bill out of an all-consuming desire to have revenge on *Blitz*. The accusation is absurd in its specific form, but a more general version seems to have gained popular credence.

NEHRU and the government are undoubtedly aware that this weed-like growth in the publication field may do irreparable harm to an impressionable and largely illiterate people to whom the printed word is gospel, even though their knowledge of it comes from hearsay. It is against this rankest section of the press that the government claims its press bill is directed. But the responsible press also feels itself endangered.

The bill has an unhappy precedent in the press controls enacted by the British in the 1930's, when they wanted to curb the civil-disobedience movement led by Gandhi. In spite of the promise of free speech in India's new constitution, these controls have remained in effect. To prepare the way for revamping them without running into constitutional difficulties, an amendment qualifying the constitution's free-speech clause was pushed through Parliament last winter under Nehru's guidance. Critics find nothing very different in this press bill from the old British press-control laws.

In the Parliament debate Pandit Kunzru of Uttar Pradesh, who is often referred to as "the only old liberal left in Parliament," said, "The Home Minister seems to assume that . . . an indigenous democratic government requires all the safeguards that a foreign bureaucratic government required." This is but one of the criticisms of the bill. Another is that it could be readily misused by unscrupulous local authorities.

Various forms of punishment, including confiscation of the copies and closing down of the press, are provided for the publication of "objectionable matter." The definition of "objectionable matter" is the most bitterly attacked section of the bill. One of its eight clauses will give an idea of its scope. Objectionable matter consists of any "words, signs, or visible representations" which "incite or encourage or tend to incite or encourage any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order or with the supply and distribution of food or other essential commodities."

The government proudly points out that the publisher has a safeguard which the British laws did not offer: he can appeal from the judgment of the court and demand, if he chooses, a jury chosen largely from the journalistic or allied professions. Opposition publishers, however, are not comforted, believing that they will be prevented by local officials and Congress Party leaders from printing any criticism of government ministers or policies on the eve of India's first national elections.

Under the existing circumstances India's interpretation of freedom of the press should not be measured by an American yardstick. But it can hardly be disputed that the means the government has chosen to cope with these special conditions are dangerous to civil liberties.

The Oatis Trial

BY JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

[*Officials in Washington have never been furnished with an official verbatim transcript of the trial of William Oatis or with an official verbatim record of the indictment. A condensed version of an unofficial transcript, however, was printed in the Department of State* Bulletin *for August 20.* The Nation *submitted this record to James Lawrence Fly, member of the New York bar and former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, for his analysis and summary. His report appears below.*]

WILLIAM N. OATIS'S conviction of espionage in Czechoslovakia continues to be a cause for concern throughout the Western world. In the annals it will remain as a *cause célèbre* even after Oatis is released. Despite positive demands and retaliatory action by our government, this American reporter remains in prison under a ten-year sentence.

After examination of the record available a few salient observations are in order. The first has to do with the marked contrast between the status of free roving reporters in this country and that of those who attempt to obtain and report news in a Communist-ridden country. Here a reporter may go almost anywhere and question anybody, in government and out, on governmental and military matters. This is routine, the simple functioning of a free press.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In a totalitarian country such a pattern of conduct is espionage. Indeed, in Czechoslovakia the law as laid down by the judge at the Oatis trial apparently limits the reporter to governmental handouts. The traditional American reporter is a spy a priori. This point is at least indicated in Oatis's testimony:

> *Q.* Were your espionage activities unusual as compared with activities of a correspondent?
>
> *A.* No, it wasn't. Other correspondents did the same —the fact is that members of the Western press and the diplomatic corps in Prague did the same.

The prosecution sought, through the obvious coercion of Oatis, to indict the whole Western press. Actually it highlighted the Communist suppression of the press.

The second observation is that the chief function of the Oatis trial was to provide a public spectacle; the line of questioning by the prosecution and the recorded comments of the judge make this clear. The indictment started with the public lesson that "the United States is waging war against the Soviet camp of peace." Through the mechanism of the trial the whole Western world, especially its press representatives, press associations, and diplomatic corps, were condemned as a huge web of espionage. Thus Oatis is brought to say:

> Now I would like to say something more about a second class of people I dealt with in this way. I mean in this case Western correspondents and Western diplomats here in Prague. I said yesterday that other Western correspondents were dealing in espionage news.

Earlier he had asserted that the Associated Press "was working together with people connected with espionage"—and so on. This picture was obviously created for its effect upon domestic opinion. One may doubt that the Czechoslovak government thought it would be accepted at face value in the West.

The travesty is accentuated by the frequent references to Oatis's "secrecy." Yet he went about openly and asked questions as our reporters normally do. He took *and kept* notes on his interviews. His instructions and dispatches, branded as "secret," were sent out over telegraph wires under government control. The news material he handled was run-of-the-mill reports on public doings, none of which involved security or secret material as we normally understand the terms. He was just a reporter, openly doing a routine job.

A LAWYER, as such, in analyzing the record can offer little not available to any intelligent reader. Perhaps the most critical point involves the validity of Oatis's testimony at the trial, on which to a great extent the charge of sham rests. It should be borne in mind that Oatis, on the record, is a native-born American of real intelligence and good training as a news gatherer and reporter. To the time of his arrest, his allegiance to this country and to his employers is proved by the record.

He was convicted on our own freedom day, July 4. By queer coincidence a Czech co-defendant is named Svoboda. This name, in the Czech language and even in Russian, means literally "freedom." "Freedom" was convicted and sent to prison for twenty years. *He* was, and I think *it* was. Let's turn back to William Oatis.

From April 23 to the beginning of the trial on July 2 he was held in prison and allowed no communication with his fellow-Americans. He was not given counsel of his own choice. The assigned counsel was *pro forma.* One can only conjecture as to what happened to Oatis in jail, but the conclusion of duress is impelling. On the witness stand he used the word "espionage" frequently and glibly. His schooling, he said, was in United States "espionage" schools;* his routine news activities were "espionage"; his press association was a spy web; his American associates and predecessors were "spies"; the Western news agencies were engaged in "espionage," as were the Western diplomatic corps. His openly kept notes, instructions, and documents are supposed to be accepted as "proof" and "confession." After condemning himself and all others about him, Oatis made an abject statement of regret for the injuries done the Czech republic and the working classes, to which he said he was deeply devoted.

All this passes belief. How could this American, in ten weeks of quiet, comfortable contemplation, decide to condemn himself and to injure his fellow-men and weaken his own country in this manner? A free, intelligent man, unfettered and uncoerced, simply does not act that way. Even the casual and uncritical reader who may reject this analysis will say about a trial in this milieu and with this procedure that he cannot believe we know the truth. He sees that no important concrete point was proved, and that the witnesses spoke of espionage in broad terms. Groping for facts, such a reader remains completely in the dark as to innocence or guilt. No one can have confidence in such a trial mechanism.

Apparently Communist regimes regard a trial as a public demonstration of a proposition already stated. It is hardly a fact-finding procedure. Rather the "facts" are molded to fit the predetermined position. The trial is the display for public consumption.

The whole series of "trials" behind the iron curtain fall into a consistent pattern. Possibly in part it is a defense mechanism against the inroads of Titoism. It deepens the people's fear and thus strengthens the restrictive bonds of communism. How long and how effectively rule by fear can survive is conjectural. Certainly Communist claims of freedom and of justice have been degraded by this trial.

* Oatis was not trained as a spy: he was not even trained as an intelligence officer. In 1943, in the army, he had training in the Japanese language and studied the Japanese area and conditions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

American Foreign Policy: The Voice of Maturity

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1900-1950. By George F. Kennan. The University of Chicago Press. $2.75.

IT IS a rare event when a book appears that exactly fills a long-recognized need—a book dealing with a subject of critical importance and written by a man uniquely qualified to speak with authority. It is even more remarkable when the book in question proves to be brief, well-written, and so simple and direct in presentation that it can be read with ease by any reasonably informed citizen. Such is the little book on American diplomacy—originally a series of six lectures delivered at the University of Chicago—by George F. Kennan, formerly counselor of the Department of State and now a member of the Institute for Advanced Study.

Mr. Kennan, a career diplomat of twenty-five years' standing, more than a year ago requested an extended leave of absence in order to be able to give consecutive thought to the underlying assumptions of American foreign policy. The present book represents the first fruits of his reflections. Through diligent historical study Mr. Kennan has sought out the key turning-points in American policy over the past half-century in an effort to discover why this country's statesmen acted as they did, where they went wrong, and what we can learn from their mistakes that will help us in the infinitely more difficult decisions that face us today. These lessons Mr. Kennan draws without hesitation or evasion. He combines sharp criticism with a tone of moderation, common sense, generosity, and good humor. Again and again he startles us with a regrouping of familiar facts that suddenly gives them a new meaning and relevance.

In his introductory lecture on the Spanish-American War—that "simple, almost quaint, illustration of some of our national reactions and ways of doing business"—Mr. Kennan resurrects the arguments against "manifest destiny" and demonstrates their continuing applicability. "We Americans," he warns, "should beware of . . . the acceptance of any sort of a paternalistic responsibility to anyone, be it even in the form of military occupation, if we can possibly avoid it, or for any period longer than is absolutely necessary." The Open Door policy in China—again a half-forgotten landmark of an earlier, more innocent era—Mr. Kennan treats as an example of a national tendency to take a merely verbal diplomatic success for the real thing. And in reviewing the long, unhappy history of American relations with Japan, he taxes his countrymen with a persistent lack of flexibility and imagination in judging Japan's relations with the Asiatic mainland. "Today," he recalls—and the parallelism is startling—"we have fallen heir to the problems and responsibilities the Japanese had faced and borne in the Korean-Manchurian area for nearly half a century, and there is a certain perverse justice in the pain we are suffering from a burden which, when it was borne by others, we held in such low esteem."

Similarly, in discussing the two world wars, Mr. Kennan underlines the extent to which American freedom of action was mortgaged to a past that was only vaguely understood. The senseless destruction, physical and moral, of the First War—which left Europe without a functioning balance of power and with, in its center, a Germany "frustrated, impoverished, stung with defeat"—drastically limited the range of decision in which statesmen could operate. And by the end of the "twenty years' armistice" the Second War had become virtually unwinnable for the Western democracies. The overwhelming concentration of armed strength in the hands of the three great dictatorships—Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan—meant that the Western powers could win the war only in alliance with one of the totalitarian states against the others. The alternative of inciting a German-Soviet conflict was impracticable: it "could take place only over the prostrate bodies of the small states of Eastern Europe." An alliance with Nazi Germany was morally unthinkable. There remained the alliance with the Soviet Union. And this, unavoidably, meant "the relative strengthening of the collaborating power and its eventual appearance as a greedy and implacable claimant at the peace table." That was essentially what happened at Tehran, at Yalta, and at Potsdam—of which "if it cannot be said that the Western democracies gained very much . . . , it would also be incorrect to say that they gave very much away." The importance of these conferences, Mr. Kennan sensibly concludes, "has recently been considerably overrated."

The second great lesson Mr. Kennan draws from the two world wars—and in a way the major thesis of his book—is that in both cases, instead of entering the conflict at an early date in order to pursue definite, limited national ends, the United States joined the Allies late in the game, with the self-righteous anger of a peace-loving man who has been provoked beyond endurance. "The fact of the provocation then becomes itself the issue. . . . Day before yesterday, . . . the issues at stake between ourselves and another power were not worth the life of a single American boy. Today, nothing else counts at all; our cause is holy, . . . violence must know no limitations short of unconditional surrender." And at the peace table we attempt to remake the world in our own image.

This way of behaving Mr. Kennan ascribes to a "legalistic-moralistic approach to international problems" that he finds characteristically American. In opposition to it, he proposes the rehabilitation of traditional diplomacy and the concepts of national interest and the balance of power. "Stability" is a key word that recurs again and again through his book. A few years ago such a thesis would probably have struck many readers as hopelessly reactionary. True, it is based on the implicit proposition that the United States is a satisfied and hence a conservative power. But over the past five years the alternative

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doctrines have gradually demonstrated their lack of realism. And in its practical applications the conservative position may prove to be more productive of concord, or at least forbearance, between the two ideological power blocs than a doctrine directed more vociferously at the improvement of mankind.

The practical applications of Mr. Kennan's thesis appear in his two articles on Russia—the celebrated "Mr. X" article published in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947 and a sequel entitled America and the Russian Future—which are now republished as an appendix to the six lectures. From these it emerges that Mr. Kennan is anything but an advocate of war with the Soviet Union. He questions whether in such a war "there could ever be any such thing as total *military* victory." And he sees some grounds for hope that without a war the Soviet Union might evolve into a society which could become a cooperative member of the international community. "There can be no genuine stability," he argues, "in any system which is based on the evil and weakness in man's nature. . . . All these institutions of the police state . . . sooner or later end up—like some stale and repetitious pornography—by boring everybody, including those who practice them." But should a new Russia emerge, Mr. Kennan warns us that we should not expect it to conform to our conventional notions of "democracy." "There is no Russian national understanding which would permit the early establishment . . . of anything resembling the private-enterprise system as we know it." From the Russia of the future, Mr. Kennan concludes, "an American well-wisher" should ask only three things: "that she lift forever the Iron Curtain, that she recognize certain limitations to the internal authority of government, and that she abandon . . . the ancient game of imperialist expansion and oppression."

These are wise and sobering words. They deserve to find a wide audience in an America desperately in need of mature reflection on questions of foreign policy. And they also need to be heard by those Europeans who frequently wonder—not without cause—whether the voice of maturity will ever be raised on this side of the water.

H. STUART HUGHES

A New Kind of Hero

BIRTH OF A HERO. By Herbert Gold. The Viking Press. $3.50.

WHEN Richard Aldington wrote "Death of a Hero" in 1929, the First World War had been over for ten years, and serious writers of the generation that had survived the carnage were still assessing its effects on their lives and their world. For Aldington, who conceived of his novel as both a threnody and an atonement, the death of a hero in the war was "sickening putrid cant." As the intelligentsia became radical during the depression and the Popular Front came into being, the idea of the hero was revitalized: he was no longer a pathetic figure but a symbolic representative of the moral grandeur and eventual triumph of the proletariat. In the best novels—those of Malraux and Silone—he was profoundly expressive of the noblest aspirations of the time.

But now we are in another time, and Herbert Gold's "Birth of a Hero" can be read as a kind of signal indicating how far we have come. Although Mr. Gold is a young veteran, his hero is a fighter in neither imperial nor class conflict. He is not even young. He is a business-man-lawyer-commuter-family-man in a Cleveland suburb who conceives a heroism initially not as derring-do but more modestly as an interruption of established routine. There is no mention of war in this chronicle of the forty-sixth year of the fledgling hero, who was presumably too young for the first war and too old for the second; and as for the class struggle of yore, nothing could be more removed from the daily life of Reuben Flair, for whom the acquisition of a new car is an event pregnant with meaning and who accepts as his due a quiet nook in a stratified society that is slowly congealing, like a glossy but essentially tasteless dessert.

As the book opens, Flair is celebrating his forty-fifth birthday en famille. His son-in-law refers to him as the hero of the evening, and "the mocking word" is "spittle in Reuben Flair's face." But the opportunity for heroism is presented by the woman next door, a voluptuous and exotic female of uncertain years who believes that any man can be a hero, that "you can make yourself a hero for yourself," because, as she explains after seducing Flair, "you can learn from everyone. That's the miraculous part of you—in fact, that's what makes you a hero."

Flair manages to continue learning from Lydia Fortner by the amusing expedient of dropping in on her after breakfast and going off late to work, a solution made possible by his advancement in the office hierarchy. His heroism, however, is really tested when her brother Larry (who is not really her brother at all) comes to Flair's house and ensconces himself as a member of the Flair family. Larry Fortner, a kind of Mysterious Stranger, pushes Flair to the limits of his endurance by threatening to reveal the truth to Mrs. Flair, fornicating with the Negro maid, and goading Reuben to examine with the utmost candor his relations with Lydia and with his own family.

While Larry's brutally deliberate assault on the Flair household is resolved melodramatically, Flair's liaison with Lydia is terminated on a muted note that is wryly apropos; and Reuben himself has learned that "he was heroic not

A cross-section of the Soviet citizen and what he thinks

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY

By MARGARET MEAD

● What is the attitude of the Soviet citizen—in his varied roles of parent, worker, soldier, citizen—toward those forces that control his life? Specialists of the Rand Corporation, under the direction of the world-famous anthropologist, Margaret Mead, give a comprehensive and objective answer derived from research in Soviet newspapers, movies, records, Party Congresses, and interviews. SOVIET ATTITUDES presents a contemporary understanding of the complex Soviet character, and provides a sound basis for predicting future developments in Russia.

At all bookstores $4.00

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, Inc.
330 West 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in freedom, which is the lie about heroes, but in submission freely given to a chosen responsibility, like a man."

I am afraid that this bald recital does not begin to summarize the factual layer of Mr. Gold's ingenious novel, much less the philosophical overtones with which it is somewhat too heavily weighted. It ought to be noted for example that Reuben Flair's grown children—presumably of the author's generation—are merely mentioned contemptuously in passing, and that the people most affectionately treated by the author, in addition to Reuben, are the hero's little boy and an aged bibliophile who stands *in loco parentis* to Reuben.

But if it is true that Mr. Gold's novel has a special importance because it represents a turning point in the intellectuals' attitude toward the middle class (it is my guess that "Birth of a Hero" will fulfil the promise of its title in a special sense by being the first of a series of conservative novels attempting to anchor the unaffiliated intellectual to that middle-aged segment of American society which he has hitherto scorned above all others), it must not be overlooked that Mr. Gold writes with charm and talent. He understands the phenomena at which he is smiling, and he communicates adroitly his delighted recognition of the significance of such neglected rituals as the office party and the commuter's daily journey. If we are really at the beginning of a new era of conservatism, we can only hope that the writers who will choose to celebrate the heroic virtues of the middle-aged and the comfortably placed will be able to do so with at least a portion of Mr. Gold's benevolent wit, radical perception, and intellectual vigor.

HARVEY SWADOS

A Man of Genius

THE LIFE OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES. By R. F. Harrod. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $7.50.

LOUIS HACKER has called this book "a great biography of a great man," and few people, I think, will quarrel with the second half of this statement. For Maynard Keynes was a man of rare genius whose contribution to the evolution of economic thought ranks him with Adam Smith and Karl Marx. Moreover he was also outstanding as logician, administrator, financier, teacher, and master of English prose.

In addition, Keynes had unique gifts of personality, a point illustrated by an extract from the journal of Professor Lionel Robbins describing a war-time meeting of British and American experts:

> Keynes was in his most lucid and persuasive mood; and the effect was irresistible. At such moments I often find myself thinking that Keynes must be one of the most remarkable men that ever lived—the quick logic, the birdlike swoop of intuition, the vivid fancy, the wide vision, above all the incomparable sense of the fitness of words, all combine to make something several degrees beyond the limit of ordinary human achievement. Certainly, in our own age, only the Prime Minister is of comparable stature.

This is a tribute all the more impressive in that it was paid by an outstanding exponent of classical economics who had earlier broken many an intellectual lance in battle with Keynes and his followers.

Mr. Harrod has done justice to his many-sided subject, but he is hardly a Boswell, and I doubt that his book will live except as an essential sourcebook for future biographers. Undoubtedly, he was one of Keynes's most devoted disciples, but I question whether he was the most understanding of them. His own instincts are conservative, and at times he appears to suffer from an itch to depict Keynes as more orthodox than he was and to make unwarranted assumptions about his reactions to events subsequent to his death. For Keynes, while following the great traditions of humanism, did so as a liberal in the best and fullest sense of the word, as a daring and imaginative experimentalist who never feared the untried.

Nor is Harrod's prose style worthy of his subject. He is correct but far from lively, and when he does attempt flights of eloquence he usually achieves a pomposity which would surely have amused Keynes—the least stuffy of men. Still, let us grant the book its merits. Compiled while memories of the man are still fresh, it does provide a mine of information about Keynes's public life. And although it is unduly reticent about his private life, it gives a fascinating account of his education at Eton and Cambridge drawn largely from his own astonishingly mature letters. We also learn a good deal about his relations with the brilliant group of men, including Lytton Strachey and Duncan Grant, the painter, with whom he was associated at Cambridge, the group which later became the nucleus of "the Bloomsbury set."

As Harrod is himself an economist, he naturally devotes a major part of this long book to Keynes's economic writings and to his work as economic adviser in World War II. Future historians will certainly find his detailed accounts of the Bretton Woods and British loan negotiations of great value. But vital as Keynes's war-time services were, it was in his books that he made

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

Just Arrived! VASILI AZHAYEV

FAR FROM MOSCOW

Novel in 3 Vols. — Illustrated

In English — 1420 pp. — Set $2.75

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

WHAT WAS THE SECRET OF EDISON'S GREATNESS?

Early in life, Thomas A. Edison came under the influence of Thomas Paine's writings, and fully acknowledged his indebtedness to this great thinker. He said: "Paine educated me. . . . Never have we had a sounder intelligence in this republic." Let Thomas Paine do for you what he did for Edison!

FREE "THE AGE OF REASON" By Thomas Paine

Write for your copy of Paine's masterwork, "The Age of Reason." 190 pages; complete unexpurgated. Sent to you without obligation as part of an educational campaign . . . but please add 10¢ to cover cost of postage and handling.

THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION

Dept. 12, 370 West 35th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his chief contribution to the history of our times.

Keynes first attracted public attention in 1919 when he resigned as economic adviser to the British peace delegation and wrote "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," which Harrod rightly describes as "one of the finest pieces of polemic in the English language." In recent years this book has been sharply attacked, notably by Paul Montoux, on the ground that its criticisms of the Versailles treaty, particularly the reparation clauses, were grossly exaggerated and helped to create the sense of guilt about Germany that tended to blind Britons and Americans to the dangers of Hitlerism. Harrod deals shrewdly and faithfully with this charge, showing that the real fault lay with those who put forward the fantastic proposals that Keynes riddled, correctly anticipating the later dangerous reaction from one form of unrealism to another.

"The Economic Consequences" was the first of a series of politico-economic essays that Keynes wrote in the twenties, examples of pamphleteering at its best. In these same years he was also engaged in a reexamination of theories of credit and investment. His "Tract on Monetary Reform" (1923) dealt a hard blow at the still sacrosanct gold standard. "A Treatise on Money" (1930) demonstrated *inter alia* that decisions to save and decisions to invest were made by different sets of people and challenged the accepted belief, which inspired central banking and treasury policies, that there was at all times a rough equivalence between the volume of savings and that of investment.

From the ideas first formulated in these works grew "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money" (1936), a book as influential for our times as "The Wealth of Nations" was for the age of the Industrial Revolution. In a letter to Bernard Shaw, quoted by Harrod, Keynes expressed his belief that this book would "largely revolutionize—not, I suppose, at once but in the course of the next ten years—the way the world thinks about economic problems."

His prediction has been fulfilled to the letter. Keynes's explanation of the way in which "effective demand" is determined by the interaction of "the propensity to consume" and "the propensity to invest" is now completely accepted by the majority of British and American economists. Furthermore, the policies of both the British Labor government and the Truman Administration owe a great deal to "The General Theory." Thus the theoretical tools fashioned by Keynes are serving to shape "the mixed economy" which is the Western world's alternative to the totalitarian socialism of the Soviets.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Letters of Cicero

CICERO: THE SECRETS OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE. By Jérôme Carcopino. Yale University Press. Two Volumes. $7.50.

PROFESSOR CARCOPINO'S well-argued thesis that the correspondence of Cicero was published much earlier than scholars generally suppose, by Octavian before he became The August, with the express intention of making Cicero execrable and yet using his posthumous infamy to prove the necessity of the new regime, is of less interest to the general reader than the portrait of Rome's greatest orator that emerges from his own letters as M. Carcopino guides us through them. No high-school junior who has been bored by the four orations against Catiline, the speech for the Manilian Law, and —perhaps, we hope, a little less—the oration for Archias, no college freshman who has had "De Senectute" stuffed (why?) down his throat, but will take, as Professor Carcopino seems to, some malicious pleasure in this exposé of Cicero as a greedy and unscrupulous counselor, a magistrate on the make, an evildoer by proxy, a self-seeking husband, a father too casual, a father-in-law too indulgent, a great recanter, a doctrinaire without a doctrine, chronically blind, morbidly vain, an impenitent trimmer, a boaster, coward, malicious, deceitful, double-dealer, blasphemer; and all this proved by the things he said himself.

Yet—yet, how wonderful the letters are, and how little difference all this makes. Boswell comes to mind, inevitably: our sneaking weakness for him is little affected by the fact that we sort of know he was playing up to it, in advance, and smearing himself a bit more than might have been really necessary. There is no such intention in Cicero; there would not be apt to be in any Roman. Are we perverse, merely, in admiring him for, or in spite of, this bad character? Perhaps the answer is to be found in some lines from W. H. Auden's poem on the death of William Butler Yeats:

> Time, that is intolerant
> Of the brave and innocent,
> And forgetful in a week
> Of a beautiful physique
> Worships language, and forgives
> Every one by whom it lives,
> Pardons cowardice, conceit,
> Lays its honors at their feet . . .

Marcus Tullius Cicero, on Professor Carcopino's showing, deserves better than the lame apology delivered by the old Augustus to his grandson, "This was a great orator, my boy, and one who loved his country well." By his own stylus he stands indicted, as, one way or another, a first-class heel. But the heel could write, first-class.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

SPINOZA DICTIONARY

***Edited by* Dagobert D. Runes**

IN THIS WORK, Baruch Spinoza, one of the cardinal thinkers of all times answers the eternal questions of man and his passions, God and nature. In the deepest sense, this dictionary of Spinoza's philosophy is a veritable treasury of sublime wisdom.

Here is what Albert Einstein writes about this book:

"I have read the *Spinoza Dictionary* with great care. It is, in my opinion, a valuable contribution to philosophical literature.

"If the reader despairs of the business of finding his way through Spinoza's works, here he will find a reliable guide speaking in Spinoza's own words.

"The grand ideas of Spinoza's *Ethics* are brought out clearly in this book, not less than the heroic illusions of this great and passionate man." $5.00

Expedite Shipment by prepayment

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY

Publishers

15 East 40th Street, Desk N, New York 16

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Brief

LLOYD GEORGE. By Thomas Jones. Harvard. $5. As Henry Adams said of Theodore Roosevelt, Lloyd George was energy untroubled by thought. Champion in his youth of the Boers, the reformer who clipped the claws of the Lords and changed the social and economic pattern of England, a leading architect of victory in World War I and of the disastrous peace that followed, the opportunist of the "Hang the Kaiser" campaign who wrecked his party and spent the last quarter-century of his life exiled from the power and glory that he loved, Lloyd George was a massive example of the super-politician, ruled by expediency and corrupted by power. This compact and more than competent biography is written by a friend and associate who views the Welsh Wizard kindly but without illusions.

FALL OF THE SPARROW. By Jay Williams. Oxford. $3. A book about the dodo, the passenger pigeon, the sea-cow, the heath hen, and other species that have become extinct, with the reasons for their downfall. A pleasant, inconsequential book, lightly written with rather too much whimsy. The illustrations are by Richard Taylor.

IN THE CITY WAS A GARDEN. By Henry Kraus. Renaissance Press. $3. The human drama of a housing project in San Pedro, California, from 1942 to 1947 conversationally told with emphasis on racial conflicts in the first half and on political in the last. The optimistic blurb writer says that it shows the love of the residents for the responsibility of running their Garden City and their development of "the dormant American knack of self-rule." Actually it shows, rather, an abnormal capacity for prejudice, petty rivalries, and sustained bickering, and an equally great incapacity for enlightened self-interest.

POEMS IN PROCESS. By Phyllis Bartlett. Oxford University Press. $4. Abundant in material, well organized in its general outline and chapter plan, within those chapters Miss Bartlett's study tends toward some rather jumpy choppiness. Recognizing that what makes a man a poet is a mystery, and wisely leaving that aspect of the creative process alone, Miss Bartlett is chiefly concerned with demonstrating that even where inspiration is greatly claimed, few indeed are the poets who omit entirely the arduous necessities of revision; she shows, with elaborate documentation, drawn from a study of letters, journals, and work-sheets, how many different ways and means, impulses and motives, are absorbed into this phase of the poet's task. A work of scholarship, complete with index and bibliographical notes: by no means dry going, and modest in its conclusion—"A great writer may write with ease, and so may a lightweight; a great writer may write with difficulty, and so may a fool."

THE GOLDEN ASS. A New Translation by Robert Graves from Apuleius. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50. The refractory and industrious intelligence of Robert Graves has here produced an easy-ambling and most readable translation of one of the world's earliest pieces of prose fiction. These primitive forms, in which people having adventures meet with people who tell them about the adventures they have had, including the stories told them by other adventurers, have their boring stretches, but "The Golden Ass" has fewer than most. And Mr. Graves, of course, is competent to find values of morality, symbolism, and even terror along with the raciness, bawdry, and plain story-telling.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THREE weeks ago the infant dramatic season took its first faltering step. Since then it has essayed two more and fallen flat on its face both times, the latest *faux pas* being one of those psychological melodramas of the sort more familiar to moviegoers and entitled "Twilight Walk" (Fulton Theater). Its principal achievement is to make multiple murder in Central Park seem very dull indeed, and it manages this feat by discoursing upon the psychiatric aspects of criminology with all the subtlety of "Ten Nights in a Barroom" exposing the evils of drink. The chief offenders are two: a heroine to whom are attributed all the feminine virtues, including beautiful legs, but who is also given to writing highbrow articles on crime for the papers; and a no-nonsense detective who believes that the best cure for a chronic throttler is the electric chair.

All the action takes place in the park, and the curtain goes up on one of those sets which always bring a little burst of applause from the audience, taking this way of letting everybody know that it recognizes the scene. Then, after the atmosphere has been dutifully established by two children skipping rope, a shoe-shine boy playing a harmonica, and so on, the heroine is heard remarking, first, that she never intends to let *her* mind stop growing and then, lest you should get the idea that she is too coldly intellectual a type, that she just loves children. Having thus established her character, she startles everybody by announcing her conviction that the time is not far off when policemen and prisons will be totally superseded by doctors and hospitals. "Crime Is a Disease!"

I confess that I can only hazard a guess at the conclusion of all this, but I think it a pretty safe bet that the murderer turned out to be the over-protected young medical student whose mother, as we early learn, still tucks him in bed every night. As I wandered out into the darkness I was thinking what a difficult world this is. From other plays and novels I have learned that if we don't tuck children in long enough, they feel rejected and therefore become anti-social. But of course if you tuck them in too long, the results are, if anything, worse. It must be terribly difficult to determine when the danger of rejection is over and that of over-protection begins. Under the circumstances I am surprised that walking in the park is not more hazardous than it is. Nearly everybody there must have been either over- or under-cuddled.

Some of my colleagues thought that Nancy Kelly did a fine job in a bad play. She certainly acts her part with what seems like conviction and delivers enthusiastically the most complete collection of high-minded platitudes ever assembled in one play. But I am not so sure that this is to her credit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RECENTLY there has been occasion to note that some recordings which sounded good when played on the limited-range phonograph I have in the country sounded poor when played on the wide-range set-up I have in the city, and to realize all over again that what a reviewer reports as the sound of a recording will be found true only by those with reproducing equipment like his own. I think, therefore, that readers of this column should know that what I report is the sound of an LP recording when reproduced by a G. E. cartridge, a Brook amplifier, and an RCA LC1A speaker, with the treble control of the amplifier set at position 3, which provides a response that falls to minus 16 db at 10,000 cycles and thus compensates for the rise to plus 16 db in the Columbia LP recording characteristic. They should realize further that what I report as good sound may be sharp, strident, harsh, and otherwise unpleasant when the recording is reproduced without such compensation, or by inferior equipment which introduces distortion and peaks; and on the other hand that what I report as sharp, strident, and otherwise unpleasant sound may be agreeable when the recording is reproduced by equipment which cuts off sharply at 5,000 cycles (I would say that if one can't afford first-rate wide-range equipment, a set-up which cuts off sharply at 5,000 is preferable to one of wide range with distortion and peaks).

After these preliminaries here is a report on recent recordings of chamber music:

Mozart's Trios for piano, violin, and cello have been issued by Period—K.254 and 496 on one record (523), K.502 and 548 on another (522), and K.542 and 564 on a third (521). Of these K.496 is the finest, but all are engaging, with especially beautiful slow movements in K.502 and 548. The playing of Agi Jambor, Victor Aitay, and Janos Starker—as individuals and as a group—is beautifully sensitive, and better than that of Abba Bogin, Ruth Posselt, and Samuel Mayes in K.502 and 542 on the Allegro record. As for recorded sound, even with treble at minimum the violin is edged and brash.

Concerning Mozart's Serenades K.375 and 388 for winds (Decca) I repeat what I wrote on the occasion of the Westminster recording: "Marvelous writing for the instruments; and the brilliant K.375 has breathtaking details; but K.388 has a power which I think is better realized in the string quintet version K.406." The Decca performances by a group of prominent American wind players are very good, though not as fine as those of the Vienna Philharmonic group on the Westminster record; but the Westminster performance of K.375 starts a half-tone sharp and the Westminster surfaces are noisy.

Of the works I have found uninteresting, Beethoven's String Trio Opus 3 is played very beautifully by the Pasquier Trio, with the violin sharp even with treble at minimum (Allegro); Brahms's Quartet Opus 51 No. 1 is also played beautifully by the Budapest Quartet, with the over-all recorded sound hard and cold and the violin sound edged and otherwise not agreeable, and with surfaces gritty (Columbia); Brahms's Sonata Opus 78 is well played by Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin, with Stern sounding too close to the microphone but the recording otherwise good, and surfaces not quiet (Columbia); Debussy's Sonata for violin and piano is well played by Ricardo Odnoposoff and Leonid Hambro, with the recorded sound excellent but surfaces gritty (Allegro; with Villa-Lobos's Sonata No. 3); Piston's Sonata and Lopatnikoff's Sonata No. 2, both skilfully put-together works, are superbly played by Joseph Fuchs and Artur Balsam, with the recorded sound excellent but surfaces gritty (Decca).

And now recordings of piano music:

Haydn's Sonatas Nos. 44 and 45 offer the interesting operation of his mind on not very interesting material. Virginia Pleasants's playing is again soberly intelligent; surfaces are gritty (Haydn Society).

Mozart's wonderful Rondo K.511, his Sonata K.533 and 494, a fine work with remarkable harmonic details, his Suite K.399, which offers interesting Mozartian transformations of the movements of the Handel suite, and the intricate Gigue K.574 that Balanchine used for the opening dance of "Mozartiana"—all these are excellently performed by Charles Rosen; but the rondo and sonata are defectively reproduced (R. E. B.).

Chopin's Preludes are given mannered, distorted, and often heavy-handed treatment by Claudio Arrau; and surfaces are poor (Columbia).

Debussy's "Images" are played by Gieseking with his extraordinary precision of subtle dynamics; but in two of the finest of the pieces, "Hommage à Rameau" and "Poissons d'or," there is an occasional strange and perverse substitution of *forte* for *piano* and vice versa which diminishes their effect; and "Poissons" is not always clear in texture. Surfaces are gritty (Columbia).

Some of Bartok's etude-like pieces from his "Mikrokosmos" are engaging, others not, but all are marvelously played by Bartok himself. Surfaces are poor (Columbia).

A rather engaging Sonata by Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809) and March of the Giboros by Gottschalk are on a record of American music with the Griffes Sonata, which makes no musical sense to me, and three Preludes by Robert Palmer, which are studies in an intricacy that doesn't achieve much else.

* from "Bach-Gesellsch."
† from "Urtext" ed.

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions

BEETHOVEN† 32 Piano Sonatas, 5 vols.	$3.98
MOZART† The Violin Sonatas, 3 vols. .. each	.98
BRAHMS All Violin Sonatas	.98
CHOPIN 24 Preludes, 2 Sonatas, Fantasy	.98
BACH* 6 English & 6 French Suites	.98

& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK • DIOSA COSTELLO
MAJESTIC THEA., 44th St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:25

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jeanne Behrend's performances seem excellent; surfaces are gritty (Allegro).

Uninteresting to my ears are Bach's English Suite No. 4 and his French Suite No. 2 (except the Sarabande), played a little stiffly on the harpsichord by Denise Restout; and Mozart's Sonatas K.279 and 280, played on the piano by Florenica Raitzin very sensitively but with a curious disregard for Mozart's directions about dynamics. Surfaces are poor (R. E. B.).

CONTRIBUTORS

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times."

HARVEY SWADOS, a contributor to the New York *Post*, the *Progressive*, and the *Menorah Journal*, recently wrote for *The Nation* two articles on paper books.

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) of THE NATION, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1951.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Editor, Freda Kirchwey, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, Hugo Van Arx, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

The Nation Associates, Inc. (no stockholders), 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Freda Kirchwey, President, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Evans Clark, Vice President, 330 West 42 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Hugo Van Arx, Secretary and Treasurer, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's *full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances* and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.) 34,082.

HUGO VAN ARX,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of September, 1951.

[SEAL]

GEORGE F. BRANDON,
Notary Public, State of New York.
No. 41-0392950
Qualified in Queens County.
Certs. filed with Queens & N. Y. Co. Clks. & Regs.
Commission Expires March 30, 1953.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Subpoenaed Clergyman

Dear Sirs: On September 12 the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, was questioned by members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, which has been holding hearings on communism in the film industry. As Mr. Fritchman has pointed out in the following extracts from a statement he issued to the press on September 16 and from one he read to the committee while he was being interrogated, the subpoenaing of a clergyman before an investigating committee threatens the independence of the church and could lead to its control by the state. Here are some of the things Mr. Fritchman said:

I am profoundly shocked at this first example to my knowledge of the committee's calling before it of a parish minister. Every clergyman in the land should be equally alarmed. . . .

With this subpoena you actually seek to invade the realm of religion. The history of religion in America—Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant—has been one of healthy independence and it must remain that way. . . . If this committee should succeed in subpoenaing the ministers of this country and intimidating them, both American democracy and unfettered religion as we have known them for 165 years will vanish.

I am one who believes Congress has proper authority to make many investigations, but I do not believe it has the power to ask citizens to surrender their privileges under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Representative Jackson seeks to separate my ministerial from my civic life. He protests he is not questioning me as a clergyman. But he has already questioned me on officers, speakers, meetings, and activities of the Unitarian church, not only groups renting rooms for meetings but actual events under the auspices of the church itself. He holds the strange opinion that a minister is only a minister when robed for services or when listening to the troubles of his people in the sanctity of his study. A reading of the Old and New Testaments would remind Mr. Jackson that for centuries religion has taken the minister into the market place, the parliament, and to the street corner, wherever he could help his fellows diminish "man's inhumanity to man." Any minister who must disclose the words and activities of his church people or himself before a governmental committee has surrendered his leadership as a moral guide. Our Founding Fathers made the wall of separation between church and state very high, and so it must remain if the clergy are to avoid being abject sycophants before the Administration in power. I would remind Mr. Jackson of Cromwell's efforts to proscribe the religious leadership of John Lillburne. The indemnity paid by Parliament to Lillburne has long symbolized the importance of free association in a democratic state by religious leaders.

Los Angeles — PETER STRONG

Boys Will Be Boys

Dear Sirs: Our neighborhood has been the scene of an interesting pow-wow this week between three gangs of boys—the short boys (who recently lost a strategic gang war over on the other side of the tracks), the tall boys (who succeeded in licking the short boys), and the freckle-faced boys (who for the most part sat on the sidelines and watched because their slingshots were being used on the other side of town).

These all came into our street the other day on the invitation of the tallest of the tall boys, who was beginning to feel generous in his victoriousness. He wanted his friends and his enemies too to sign a friendship pact with the short boys and to promise that they would never sling stones at each other again.

The freckle-faced boys accepted the invitation, but they were skeptical of the tall boys' methods and suspicious of their motives. They said so. Indeed, they said so several times and with gestures. They even accused the tallest of the tall boys of being a bully. But everybody knew that the freckle-faced boy with the reddest hair was the worst bully of all.

An old man who was whittling away while all these discussions were going on made a strange observation. He noticed that some of the smaller tall boys applauded every time a freckle-faced boy made a point. The old man says it's because the smallest tall boys also think the tallest tall boy is a bully. But they don't say so, because the tallest tall boy gives them candy.

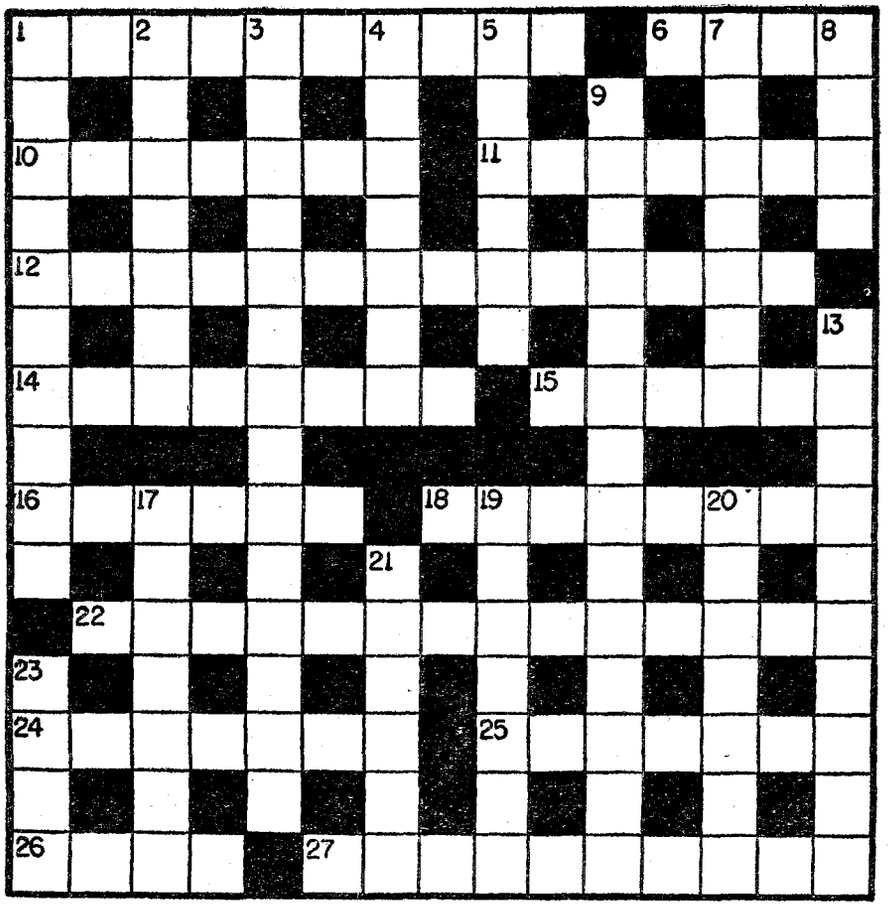
Now that the boys have gone home I hear there may be another fight. The thing that frightens me is that another fight will not help us learn that whether they are tall boys or short boys or freckle-faced boys, boys are boys.

San Francisco — ROBERT MOON,
Minister of the
Park-Presidio United Church

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 433

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Circumstances under which one so acts as a trainer. (10)
6 and 8 down. Implying plethora of change for the bells, but not enough for the till? (4-4)
10 In no hurry to be found in the reception office. (7)
11 To serve as a harbinger of ruins, he gets ruined. (5, 2)
12 Taking a residential census of banks (8, 6)
14 The strongest women are by the 24. (8)
15 Its chances of being associated with a new star are reasonably bright. (6)
16 The province of the parchment. (6)
18 It is confused with the broken-down vehicle of 27. (8)
22 Implying Fate didn't follow suit! (3, 5, 2, 4)
24 Extremely amazing persons show them up. (7)
25 Bill and the soprano had better be! (7)
26 The function of a levy. (4)
27 Smith is so made to carry Orville, perhaps. (10)

DOWN

1 Functions and potentials of volumes. (10)
2 Why 22 couldn't get in the first blow? (2-5)
3 and 23. This might describe you! (14, 4)
4 How the head of 7 might vary, very feelingly. (7)
5 Hung at a circle of complete failure. (6)
7 This sort of B.A. never organizes a plant. (7)
8 See 6 across.
9 Feet arrive much in disorder, in disorder. (9, 5)
13 Foil. . . . (10)
17 . . . and a foil across. (7)
19 Certainly not a first impression. (7)
20 Got into a windy calling. (7)
21 C. C. C. P.? (6)
23 See 3.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 432

ACROSS:—1 CLEARING HOUSE; 10 OPPUGNS; 11 ARIETTA; 12 UNDINES; 13 EBONITE; 14 OYSTERS; 15 STOPGAP; 16 EN MASSE; 20 CRIPPLE; 23 ANNULET; 24 LEMURES; 25 DECLARE; 26 BUFFALO; 27 ASSEVERATIONS.

DOWN:—2 LEPIDUS; 3 ARGONNE; 4 INSISTS; 5 GRADERS; 6 ORINOCO; 7 SITTING; 8 MODUS OPERANDI; 9 PAT EXPRESSION; 17 MENACES; 18 SELVAGE; 19 EXTREME; 20 CULEBRA; 21 IN MUFTI; 22 PERTAIN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
THAT'S INDIAN SUMMER AT THE GLENMERE!
famed horseback riding!
the Glenmere
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: CHester 2151 — N. Y.: REctor 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: $45 weekly, $7.50 daily.
65 Miles From N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness
Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033

INSTRUCTORS!
Take advantage of
The Nation's
Special Class-Room Rate
40¢ Monthly per Student
•
for order of 10 or more copies to be sent to one address—desk copy supplied free
•
Address your order to
The NATION
TWENTY VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

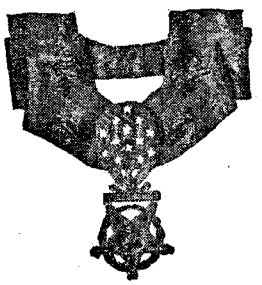
• Advertising Rates •

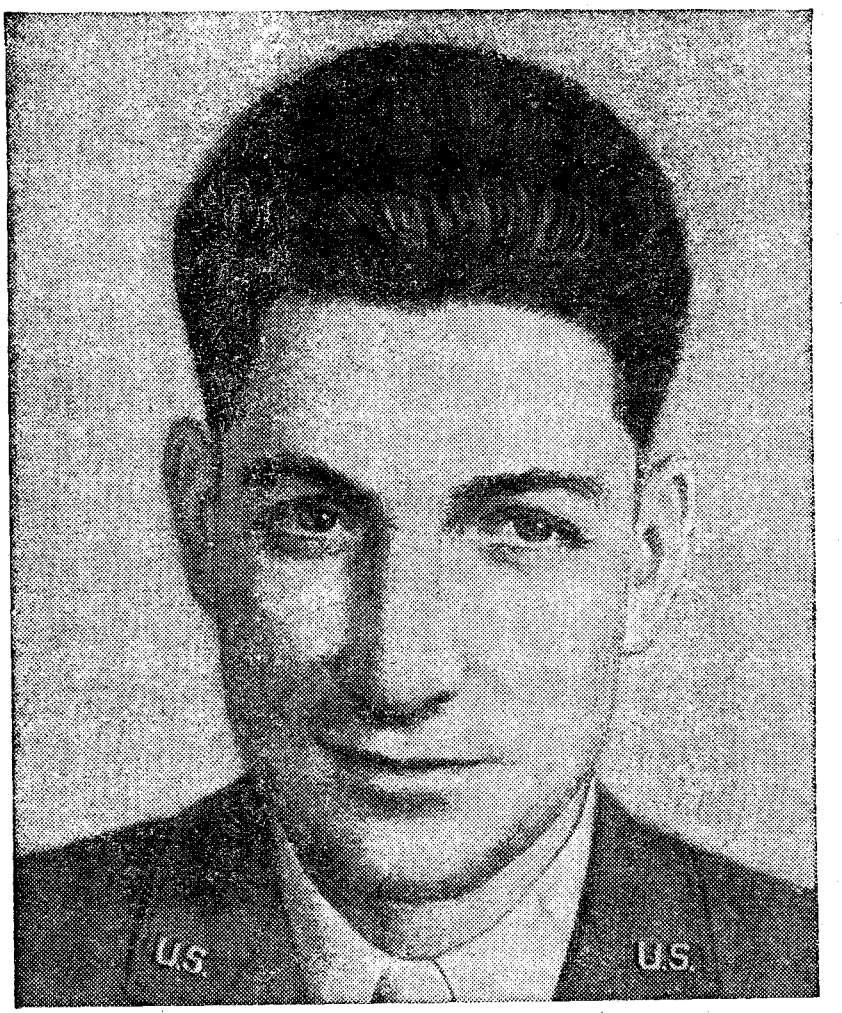
CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
The NATION
Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Medal of Honor





Lieutenant Frederick Henry of Clinton, Oklahoma—Medal of Honor for sacrificing himself to save his platoon in combat near Am-Dong, Korea, September 1, 1950. When the platoon could no longer hold its position, Lieutenant Henry ordered the men to pull back. But someone had to stay behind to provide covering fire. He chose to be that man, and was lost.

Always remember this—Lieutenant Henry offered his life for more than just a small platoon in far-away Korea. It was also for America. For you.

Isn't there something you can do when this man did so much? Yes, there is. You can help keep the land he loved solid and strong and secure. You can do a job for defense . . . by buying United States Defense* Bonds, *now!* For your bonds give your country greater strength. And a strong America is your best hope for peace and freedom—just as it was his.

Defense is your job, too. For the sake of *every* man in service, and for *yours*, start buying more United States Defense Bonds now.

Remember that when you're buying bonds for national defense, you're also building a personal reserve of cash savings. Remember, too, that if you don't save *regularly*, you generally don't save at all. Money you take home usually is money spent. So sign up today in the Payroll Savings Plan where you work, or the Bond-A-Month Plan where you bank. For your country's security, and your own, buy U. S. Defense Bonds now!

U.S. Savings Bonds are Defense Bonds - Buy them regularly!

The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED